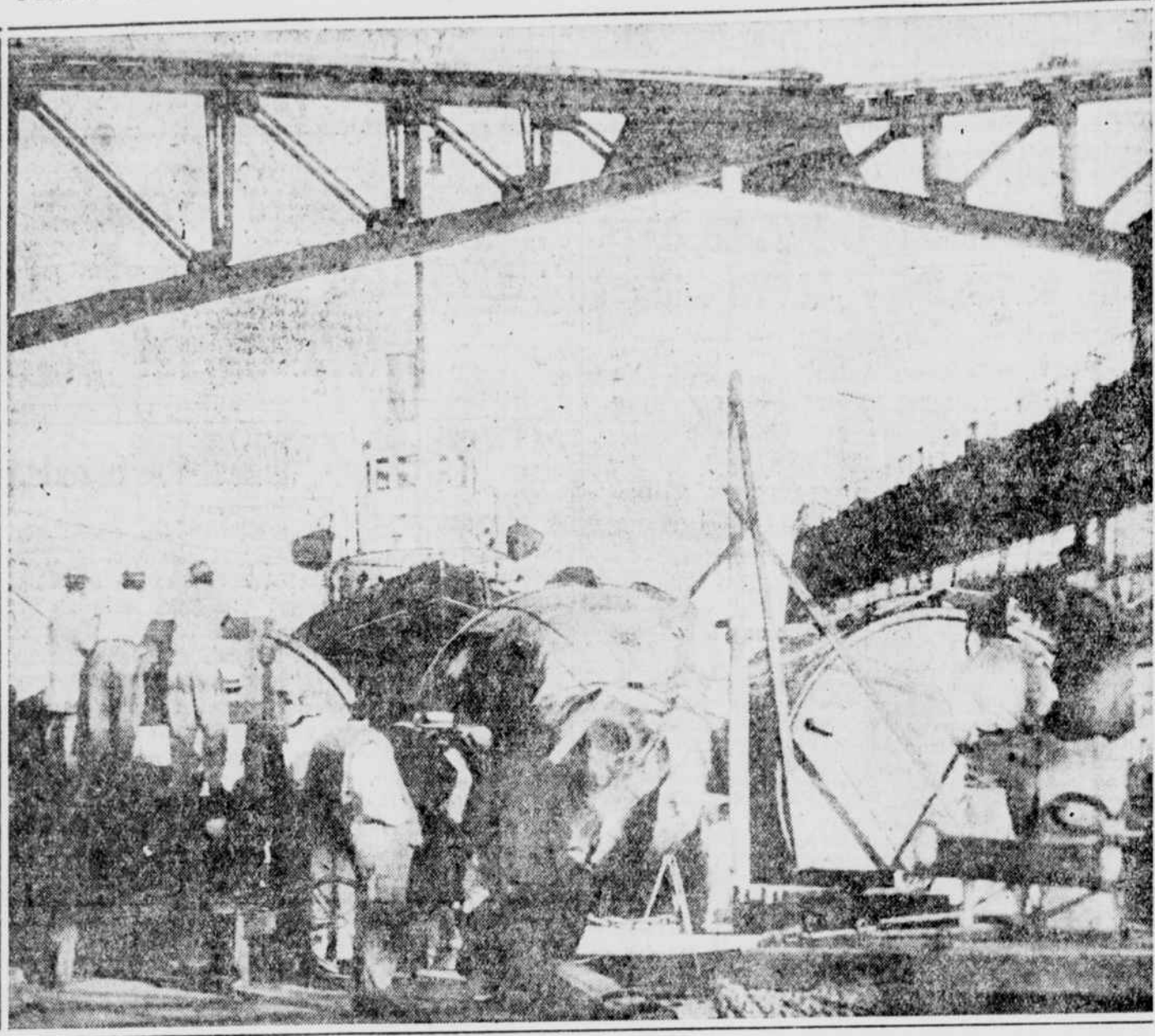


FIRST VIEW OF THE F-4 AFTER BEING RAISED FROM HONOLULU HARBOR.



The submarine is lying on her port side in drydock. The pontoons that raised her are on either side. The big hole forward is seen plainly. The bow is toward the camera.

Wilson Headed for War; Seeks Conflicting Ends

Continued from page 1

arms, if necessary. He will continue, whenever possible, to write notes; he will at all times assert the moral force of his position, but he will do nothing else—voluntarily.

Slowly Drifting Toward War.

Such a policy makes for war because it insures an endless repetition of international incidents. It means that there will be, as there has been for months, a succession of differences, a mounting tension and in the country a growing impatience, anger and resentment at the German course, coupled with an ever-increasing conviction in Berlin that Mr. Wilson does not mean to take any drastic step.

American policy is therefore placed squarely at the mercy of the first sweeping gust of popular wrath in this country, without being able to lessen the chance that German acts will provoke this outbreak.

At the outset of our debate with Germany there were two possible courses open to Mr. Wilson. He could have affirmed the intention of this country to maintain international law. But in making such an affirmation it was essential to convince Germany and recognize himself that the country would defend the position it thus assumed to the end and to the last possible resource.

It was equally possible before the Lusitania incident to accept those conditions which Germany proposed to make. She was ready at all times to guarantee immunity to American ships in the war zone. Then the administration might have warned American citizens to avoid belligerent passenger ships. Such a course would have removed all real chance of a dispute with Germany. One policy would have been inspiring, the other only safe, but it was impossible at all times to combine the two.

Moral Force Not Sufficient.

Nevertheless, this is what the administration attempted to do. Without the smallest intention to defend its championship of international law by arms, if necessary, Mr. Wilson frankly took the highest possible tone in defence of international law. He believed, his advisers believed, on this point Washington is a unit—that the mere statement of the American determination would make Germany comply. He was convinced that there was in his position a moral force which would be irresistible.

It is equally clear that Germany recognized the state of mind of Mr. Wilson. It comprehended that his policy was not one of action. It grasped the essential fact that Mr. Wilson was relying upon moral force alone and that he had not considered the question of fighting.

Therefore Germany, engaged in a life and death struggle with nations which had carried their challenge of German ideas to the trenches, with millions of her own sons offering their lives to defend German views, gave little heed to protests backed up by moral force alone.

This policy of moral force was bankrupt when the Lusitania went down. But the real peril came when it became visible. Mr. Wilson, by his "strict accountability" note, had put his country and his administration in a fatal position. To abandon the role of defender of the international faith was now to accept responsibility for a supreme national humiliation. Yet it was still impossible to escape by taking drastic action, for there was still the necessity to avoid that disapproval of the United States which the South and West, which still cling to the peace-at-any-price attitude.

Accordingly Mr. Wilson fell back upon the course of mere notes. After some hesitation he reasserted the doctrine of moral force. But this was a perilous course, because each successive note necessarily asserted American championship of international law more sharply, defined the issue between the United States and Germany more clearly, and thus reduced the margin of safety for diplomatic exchanges.

Germany Scornful of Opinion.

The Arabic incident marked the final bankruptcy of the policy of moral force. It was a final demonstration of the fact that Germany was not concerned with such disciplinary efforts as it might suffer from the scorn of the world, while she was able, unhampered otherwise, to pursue a course of reprisal directed at an enemy who was seeking to starve her population and ruin her career as a world power.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the consternation created by the Arabic

incident in Washington because the administration instantly perceived that it was within one step of the thing it most dreaded; it was within sight of the war that had been the last thing in the world from its mind when it first took its high stand for international law.

Thus Count von Bernstorff's intervention came in the nature of a reprieve; it had something of the character of a miracle. One moment the policy of moral force seemed evanescent, the next it appeared to be restored to concrete vitality. There was more rejoicing over the Bernstorff promise than over anything that had happened since Mr. Wilson came to the capital.

But the rejoicing was short-lived. Almost immediately the Hesperian incident aroused doubts. The Arabic note came hard after it to remind the President that Germany had contemplated no change of policy, as he and the country had believed, when they had hailed the Bernstorff pledge. Germany had by no means meant to give up a practice; she had only consented to waive the label on the practice.

With bitter clarity it was realized that what Count von Bernstorff had offered was a way out, a technical victory, an abstract vindication of the doctrine of moral force. Germany was prepared to recognize in theory the principle of the right of visit and search. But in practice she was determined to continue her former course, to maintain a specific instance producing an explanation of why she had been unable to apply the principle that she had recognized. If the Arabic note meant anything, it meant this.

Mockery of Bernstorff Pledge.

But this was a long way from the sweeping moral victory that Mr. Wilson had felt won, that the country had believed won through the Bernstorff promise. It amounted to nothing more than a formal affirmation of a willingness to live under the law in general, wholly negated by the purpose to violate the law habitually and in every case assign a special reason for each violation. In short, it was a mockery.

Even if it had desired to accept Count von Bernstorff's avenue of escape and follow it, the administration could not do so, because the American people had accepted Mr. Wilson's stand for international law as a fight for the substance, not the shadow, and the Bernstorff assurance was, as interpreted by the Arabic note, but the faintest of shadows. So the administration was compelled to concede, informally, that the Bernstorff promise was but a "scrap of paper," and that admission provoked the German ambassador's interesting explosion in "The Evening Sun."

But because the administration knows that what Count von Bernstorff has said is true, because it recognizes that the choice is between peace and war, and because, above all, it believes in the right of the world to peace, it is examining the Arabic note anew, in the hope of finding a fresh opportunity for discussion, a new chance to assert the doctrine of moral force and postponed action.

But when, then, a possibility now that we shall reopen the discussion with Berlin, and if we do there will be a momentary lessening of tension. But there will be a redoubled tension when the next incident occurs, and there is no prospect that there will not be another incident.

In a word, this country is drifting steadily and inescapably toward a war with Germany because Mr. Wilson has adopted and clings to a policy which can only be maintained by war. The entire control of the situation is in German hands. There is no resource left to this country in diplomacy, because Mr. Wilson will not speak with determination and will not surrender the ground he has taken on behalf of international law.

One Side Must Surrender.

Our difficulties with Germany cannot be accommodated except by a complete and humiliating surrender on the German side, or a complete abdication by Mr. Wilson of the right to champion international law. There is no promise of a termination of the crisis, because, left to himself, Mr. Wilson will never take vigorous and definite action. So far as he is concerned, he will only wait, dispatch mere notes, if

mediated by our artillery and infantry fire.

There is nothing to report from the rest of the front.

Enemy aeroplanes dropped a few bombs yesterday on Compiègne. Our aeroplanes bombed effectively aeroplane sheds and hangars of the Germans at Bravelle.

The following official communication was issued tonight:

In Artillery actions similar to those of the preceding days have occurred. They were particularly violent in the sector of Neuville. In the region of Roye and in front of Arras, conflicts have occurred.

To the north of Aisne the Germans directed against our positions, between the Plateau of Paissy and Godat, an intense and prolonged bombardment with shells of all calibres. Our artillery replied with an efficacious fire against the trenches and batteries of the enemy.

Cannonading on both sides has been in progress in Champagne, in the environs of Auberville and St. Hilaire, between the Meuse and the Moselle, in the Forest of Montmarais, on the Lorraine front, in the environs of Nomeny and Xousse, as well as in the region of the Han-de-Sapt.

GERMAN OFFICIAL.

German army headquarters gave out this communication:

On a large part of the front there was lively artillery activity. Successful mine explosions in the Champagne and the Argonne caused heavy damage to French trenches.

Early yesterday morning enemy airmen dropped bombs on Oostende. No damage was done and no one was injured.

CONFIRMS ZEPPELIN LOSS

Traveller Says Airship Was Destroyed About to Enter Hangar.

[By Cable to The Tribune.]

Rotterdam, Sept. 12 (dispatch to "The Daily News," London).—I just met a traveller from Brussels, who is in a position to confirm the report that a Zeppelin was lost on Wednesday. He saw the airship over Malines, travelling toward Brussels, in the neighborhood of which the hangar still exists.

Arriving at Brussels a few hours later he heard the airship was destroyed. Thousands of Belgians rushed out to the spot to see what to them represented a joyful sight. It appears that the Zeppelin was destroyed in attempting to enter the hangar. Two of the crew were killed and others wounded.

GERMAN SUBMARINES RAID CRIMEAN COAST

Russians Send Black Sea Squadron in Pursuit.

Petrograd, Sept. 12.—Russian torpedo boat destroyers and seaplanes have been sent in pursuit of German submarines operating near the Crimean coast in the Black Sea, according to an official statement issued at the War Office tonight.

RUSSIAN OFFICIAL.

The statement follows:

Enemy submarines have been reported in the Black Sea, near the coast of Crimea. Destroyers and submarines have been sent to pursue them.

An enemy Zeppelin flew over a Bal-

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tic port on the 10th, dropping some bombs. Our seaplanes then threw bombs on German warships in Windward Harbor.

Berlin, Sept. 12.—An official statement issued at the War Office to-day said:

Several Russian seaplanes attacked a small German cruiser off Windau. They dropped eight bombs, all of which missed.

CAUCASUS DRIVE AIDS DARDANELLES ATTACK

Grand Duke Will Draw Turks from Gallipoli.

London, Sept. 12.—The Russians are increasing their activities in the Caucasus, and it is believed that the arrival of Grand Duke Nicholas will be

the signal for more important operations which will lessen the burden of the Allies trying to force the Dardanelles.

An optimistic rumor is again afloat, probably due to the statement recently made by Lord Robert Cecil, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that the Allies are not far from a great success.

FRENCH OFFICIAL.

The French War Office issued this statement to-day:

In the Dardanelles the last period of five days has been very calm. In the north zone the Turks on different occasions have opened a violent infantry and artillery fire, but without leaving their trenches. In the south zone there is nothing particular to report outside the efficiency of our trench mortars, which have destroyed two small forts and caused sensible losses to the enemy.

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that the German note would have been promptly rejected. It was only that slight suggestion of a disavowal of hostile intent that gave the government pause. Officials say it amounts to a reiteration of Ambassador von Bernstorff's assurances to Secretary Lansing, which would otherwise have been regarded as a "scrap of paper."

It is evident, however, officials declare, that Germany is determined to get the United States into an international court. They assert that she has manipulated the Arabic case in such a way as to leave this government no choice but to arbitrate or break with a constant assumption that President Wilson will choose the former. Before arbitration is agreed to, therefore, the United States will make sure that the question of principles is not to be suspended pending the decision of the court.

Count von Bernstorff will repeat to Secretary Lansing tomorrow the contents of the memorandum he handed to him a fortnight ago, in which it was said that Germany no longer would torpedo "liners" without warning. He will insist that this statement was made in good faith, and that the United States must accept it as such.

It is likely that the Ambassador will inform the Secretary that the question to be arbitrated is one of fact and not of principle, and consequently the American government should have no objection to accepting the proposal.

The German government, it is said, holds that the evidence that the sinking of the Arabic was not justified, now in the State Department's hands, is mainly from British subjects. Secretary Lansing, however, probably will put an end to this view to-morrow.

Orduna Note Received.

The German memorandum on the Orduna case reached the State Department during the day, but was not decided in time for consideration. It probably will be before Secretary Lansing to-morrow, when Count von Bernstorff reaches the department, furnishing an additional phase for discussion.

No information as to the contents of the memorandum has been given officially. In German quarters it is thought probable that the Berlin factor which missed the Orduna was the belief that the vessel was not a passenger-carrying ship.

No Danger in Dumba

Recall Says "Germania"

Berlin, Sept. 12.—The "Germania" in discussing the request for the recall of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States, declares that President Wilson in asking the Austro-Hungarian government to withdraw Dr. Dumba sharply impugns honorable men of English diplomacy. The newspaper declares that the Dumba case with those of Mansfield de Cardonnel Findlay, British Minister to Norway, in connection with the charges made by Sir Roger Casement, leader of the nationalist faction in Ireland, that the minister was conspiring with Sir Roger's manservant for the capture or killing of Casement, and of the British Minister to Greece, who, it was alleged, attempted to bribe Greek ships to assist German submarines in the Mediterranean, and says Germany's opponents tried to make capital out of "the bad luck of Dr. Dumba, who stumbled over the attempt to prevent his countrymen from making ammunition for their enemies."

The newspaper says that a change in ambassadors in these critical times is to be regretted, but it asserts that the change will have no political consequences on account of President Wilson's expressed desire for a continuation of friendly relations.

LLOYD GEORGE ASKS GREATER EFFORT

Continued from page 1

pull us through? Are we now straining every nerve to make up for lost time? Are we getting all the men we shall want to put into the fighting line next year to enable us even to hold our own? Does every man who can help, whether by fighting or by providing material, understand clearly that ruin awaits remissness?"

"How many people in this country have fully appreciated the full significance of the Russian retreat. For more than twelve months Russia has, in spite of deficiencies in equipment, absorbed the energies of half the German and four-fifths of the Austrian forces. It is realized that Russia has for the time being made her contribution, and we

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